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Europe reacts as Reagan men find their feet

The side-effects are always the same when power changes hands in the White House, yet with equal regularity Europe seems unable or unwilling to appreciate them.

This is doubtless partly due to its own interests. Europe would dearly like to learn as soon as possible what policies the new US administration proposes to pursue.

It is also keen to find out how the United States intends to define the US national interest. But a straight answer is often not available.

Instead there are confusing signals that hardly seem to admit of conclusive answers, so confusing indeed that they immediately give rise to arlam as to whether US policy makes sense.

This is because not only the new President but also the members of his administration reappraise all the problems they have taken over, doing so with a view to making a fresh start on as many issues as possible.

This urgency runs counter to the time it then takes to fashion logical and cohesive policies out of this reappraisal.

urlosity is particularly marked in respect of the Reagan administration because the Republican defeat of Mr Carter, a sitting Democratic President, is felt to have marked a deep-rooted change in US policy.

It is seen as indicating profounder changes than are usually associated with a change of power in Washington. The basic tenor of US opinion is felt to have changed, with all that entails for day-to-day politics.

But there is another factor too, given that a change of power at the White House is always seen as a juncture for America's allies in Europe to redefine their fundamental interests and impress them on the new US administration.

At present the European countries are not in the best of shape. In many of them the political forces on which the governments rely for support are at loggerheads.

They seem to have grown uncertain as to what the national interest is. As a result the signals put out by the new US administration promptly enter into domestic issues.

This certainly applies to West Germany at the moment. Chancellor Schmidt and the French President have just issued a joint policy declaration clear enough to form a sound basis for putting across European interests to the United States.

But is the Franco-German declaration and all the consequences it entails still supported by the Chancellor's Social Democratic Party? This too is a question to which a clear answer is urgently needed.

Europe is obviously interested for the most part in the way the new US administration proposes to conduct foreign policy. But let there be no misunderstanding: initially President Reagan will be concerned mainly with economic policy.

One of the reasons why the Carter administration was defeated at the polls was its failure to cope with the problems of unemployment, inflation and the decline in US economic productivity.

What is more, US government spending obliged the Federal Reserve Bank to pursue a policy of record interest rates.

America's economic difficulties led, moreover, to a fatalistic outlook that has not exactly been conducive to the US optimistically takings the lead in the Western world.



Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing at the 37th Franco-German summit in Paris, (Photo: dpa)

President Reagan reckons putting paid to this fatalism is one of his main tasks. The way in which he solves it will partly decide the political impetus with which the United States enters the international arena.

Security policy is likewise closely linked with the economic programme of the Reagan administration. The President reckons his deflationary cost-cutting programme can be reconciled with higher defence spending.

He gives priority to higher defence expenditure because, as he sees it, the United States no longer enjoys military superiority over the Soviet Union.

The US domestic dispute over Salt 2 in the past year or two well have diverted attention from the facts of the matter, which are that America no longer has the edge over Russia in conventional, not strategic arms.

Europe is far from happy about this state of affairs and would not rate a bid to bridge the gap as a breach of the policy of striking a balance of power on which it is so keen in ties between the superpowers.

Interestingly enough, the announcement by Defence Secretary Weinberger that America is reconsidering neutron bombs for tactical use by US forces in Europe is an admission of weakness in the conventional military sector.

Any contribution Europe might be able to make towards offsetting this conventional weakness would be likely to nudge US policy in the direction Europe desired.

Mr Weinberger's announcement was, incidentally, the most characteristic instance yet of the departmental reappraisal that is typical of a change of government in the United States.

Secretary of State Haig promptly reassured America's allies in Europe that there would be no unilateral US decisions taken before they had been suitably consulted.

Comprehensive consultations with Europe on the prospects of harmonising

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Schmidt and Giscard aim at stabilisation

...only the circumstances had not been so depressing France and Germany would have been more than satisfied with the latest round of Franco-German talks.

Never before have consultations between Paris and Bonn been so comprehensive, but unfortunately this intensity necessitated by the situation.

Cultural diplomacy, which was to have held pride of place this time round, was relegated to a minor role by looming developments in world affairs.

This was most regrettable, since Germany's bad conscience with regard to the neglect of French at school can hardly be salved solely by an agreement on joint TV programmes.

The top-level talks between Paris and Bonn clearly testified to anxiety lest East-West ties take a fresh turn for the worse in the wake of Soviet intervention in Poland.

Soviet hegemonial designs might also come to the fore by virtue of expansion in more distant parts of the world, the two sides felt, special mention being made of Chad.

The communiqué is thus a catalogue of fears and warnings, but it also marks a historic turning point in that detente, a much-misused and threadbare term, is no longer mentioned.

It was presumably so fraught with meaning that there was felt to be no way of salvaging it. Chancellor Schmidt may well have wanted to do so but President Giscard d'Estaing's new realism seems to have prevailed.

Its place has been taken by stabilisation, a term that as yet has a sober, level-headed ring. Stabilisation presupposes a "security-policy balance of power."

Each side is to have the same military power. This implies that America's interest in equipping itself with an even bigger stick is inappropriate.

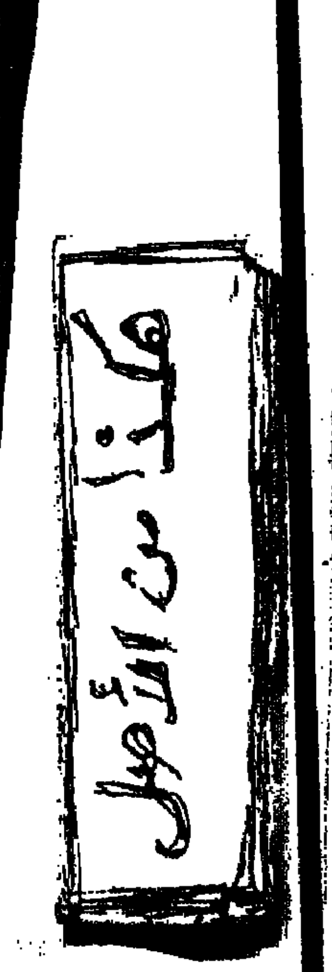
The remainder of the communiqué is more or less a collection of vain hopes such as that of moderation on the oil price front. Moderation indeed is recommended as a yardstick for the conduct of world affairs. Something of a truism, isn't it?

Hopes of close cooperation between Washington, Paris and Bonn are likewise expressed. This too is splendid but would seem to put paid to equally optimistic hopes of a European disarmament conference.

Mention is again made of confidence-building measures from the Atlantic to the Urals, as though, now detente has been replaced by stabilisation, it too is expected to end at the arbitrary border between Europe and Asia.

All told, the communiqué of the latest round of Franco-German talks is by no means free of populistic illusions.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 February 1981)



■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Bonn hopes to breathe fresh life into European Union idea

Great days lie in store for Europe, if words and good intentions are any guide. President Giscard d'Estaing of France, for instance, is busy thinking up new foreign policy moves to be undertaken after his re-election in May.

The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, announced last autumn, with every encouragement from Bonn, that when Britain chairs the EEC Council of Ministers later this year Whitehall will be strongly in favour of fostering a common foreign policy.

Bonn's Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, has met with a remarkable response to his appeal for a fresh start towards setting up a European Union.

But good intentions alone are not enough, as the endless tug-of-war over fishing quotas in EEC waters clearly indicates.

Even so, Herr Genscher would appear to be right in trying to ensure that the idea of integration is not flogged to death by the clash of interests on partial issues.

He is also right in redirecting attention to the political objectives of the European Community. But he must not make do with merely having launched a few thought-provoking ideas.

As soon as possible specific views and proposals need to be submitted.

What can realistically be expected to happen? Alongside further development and the first enlargement of the EEC in 1973 a number of important European policy features have made their appearance in recent years.

First and foremost, perhaps, there has been the regularisation of EEC summits, the European Council, under the aegis of which the first link was established between treaty-based EEC development and freely agreed political cooperation (EPC).

Then there have been the establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS), direct elections to the European

General-Anzeiger

Assembly and the accession of Greece as the first of several new member-countries.

All these moves, apart from Greek accession and the southward expansion of the EEC, have been undertaken without an international law basis.

The European Council sees itself as more than a mere instrument of the European Community; it rates itself the highest political authority in Europe.

The European Assembly is keen to gain political influence and establish greater control over what goes on in the EEC.

The EMS is still in its early days and has yet to be incorporated in the legal system of the Community.

Last not least, European Political Cooperation may have achieved significant progress and results, but it too still has to rely on improvisation.

Yet all these features could be incorporated in a closed framework. At the same time a number of details such as the establishment of an EPC secretariat and relations between the new institutions and the European Assembly (and, indeed, where the European Parliament is to be finally based) could be clarified.

This is all strictly feasible, and what is more, it would bring home to people in Europe more clearly than hitherto what has already been accomplished in Europe. A new groundwork for further European integration would have been laid.

This and other aspects are clearly outlined in the 1976 Tindemans Report and in the report of the Three Wise Men, both of which have been at the disposal of the European Council for some time without conclusions having been reached.

So apart from the formal decision nothing really new would need doing, and the decision might take the form of a joint declaration by EEC governments or parliaments to the effect that these features were to be incorporated under the aegis of the European Council.

Once this decision was ratified there would be no reason for not talking in terms of a European Union. The United States of America began with less.

Yet maybe it would be better to allow opinion in member-countries time to consolidate, setting about the next steps in this direction instead (but without allowing too much time to elapse).

But European union must not [...] security policy merely because it ha[s in] the past been felt to be a hindra[nce to] greater integration.

Initially only first steps may be [poss]ible, but they could extend beyond [...] existing arms control coordination [...] framing of joint framework propos[als].

A European Union must, in the [final] analysis, be a defence union [...] Nato could only benefit from the [estab]lishment of a firm European pi[llar to] stand alongside America.

Chancellor Schmidt, in his to[p-level] Paris talks with President Giscard [...]ing, will also have dealt with these [as]pects and with the role their two [coun]tries can play as the motive force [in] integration.

The deadline for this fresh [...] launch a European Union will no[t ...] until late spring, however, when M. [Gis]card d'Estaing is sure of re-election.

We will then see whether the [Euro]pean Community can live up to [the] high esteem and high expect[ations] shown in it all over the world.

Europeans certainly appear to [be] faint-hearted to a degree out of all [pro]portion to this major international [chal]lenge, and nothing could be more [dan]gerous than empty words.

The very opposite of the sti[...] Herr Genscher hoped to trigger w[ould] occur if it were all to have bee[n no] more than a verbal exercise, a king[-size] speech balloon that soon burst.

When you foster European hopes [these] days you have to fulfill them too.

Wolf J. [...]

(General-Anzeiger, 3 February [1981])

Washington reactivates plan to develop neutron device

Nato faces a fresh test with the return of the neutron bomb to the agenda in the middle of a debate whether the 572 Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles should even be based in Europe by autumn 1983.

The neutron device was shelved three years ago, or so it seemed, but Defence Secretary Weinberger has resurrected it with a proposal to reinclude it in Nato's strategic calculations.

The proposal could hardly have come at a more difficult time. A group of Social Democratic MPs in Bonn recently advocated cuts in defence spending that cast doubts on their readiness to abide by the December 1979 Nato decision to modernise nuclear armament in Western Europe.

Mr Weinberger's move is also likely to upset the apple cart for Belgium and Holland, where the governments are having great difficulty in convincing either their parliaments or public opinion of the need to station 48 Cruise missiles in each country.

The Kremlin promptly protested against any idea of reactivating the neutron bomb debate, so trouble surely lies ahead.

Moscow is likely to press ahead with the manufacture of SS-20 missiles, each packing three warheads aimed at targets in Western Europe, and Backfire bombers.

The Russians can hardly be expected now to negotiate with the West on a limitation of these weapons systems as envisaged in the twofold Nato arms modernisation decision.

They are particularly sensitive on this issue because they do not yet have plans of their own to manufacture a neutron device.

Admittedly, the US Defence Secretary's maxim is doubtless that tough talk is the only language the Russians understand, but at the same time the Americans have let loose a whirlwind their allies in Europe will find hard to handle on the home front.

In 1978, when President Carter first suggested going ahead with construction of the neutron bomb, they were almost universally opposed to the idea.

The European countries are afraid of this mysterious weapon which destroys all life yet leaves walls standing.

Mr Weinberger must surely [...] that Europe took a dim view of th[e neu]tron device three years ago, yet he [did] not see fit to spare it the latest shoc[k].

He has now called on the Europ[eans] to reformulate their views on the [sub]ject. These views are likely to hold [pride] of place in European political debat[e in] the weeks ahead.

Two points are already clear. [...] Secretary of State Haig, the former [Nato] C-in-C, is in favour of the Defence [Sec]retary's move; he was in favour of b[uild]ing the neutron bomb in 1978.

Second, President Giscard d'Estaing [of] France ordered his defence research [es]tablishments to go ahead with [neutron] bomb development last year.

The French can afford to go it a[lone] because they pulled out of the mili[tary] structure of Nato 15 years ago.

Helmut J. Wei[...]

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 5 February 1[981])

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foreign and defence policies are indeed a programmatic feature of the new US administration's foreign policy.

There is no reason to doubt America's good intentions on this score, although the new administration may well draw its own conclusions from such consultations and stick to them more consistently than its predecessor.

Europe as yet feels unsure of the Reagan administration's views on relations with the Soviet Union.

Secretary of State Haig and President Reagan have adopted a tough approach to Russia, the one accusing Moscow of backing political terrorism and the other stressing the Soviet leaders' international revolutionary objectives.

The Kremlin leaders, he said, would stop short at nothing to achieve their objectives and were thus not to be trusted.

Mr Haig's comments were in reply to the Soviet handling of the US hostage saga in Tehran when Moscow hinted to the Iranians as negotiations for the hostages' release gathered momentum that America was merely using the talks as a smokescreen to prepare for another attack.

The Kremlin could hardly have left itself on a more awkward footing for getting down to talks with the new US administration.

Mr Reagan's comments would have been upsetting for European leaders if they had solely been intended to demonstrate the pointlessness of talks with Moscow. This the President carefully avoided doing.

He has, for instance, expressly endorsed further talks with Moscow on strategic arms limitation. He merely said that any agreement reached must not, like Salt 2, merely limit arms while allowing the superpowers to continue perfecting their strategic potential in other sectors.

Strategic arms limitation must mean what is says, he felt. It must lead to an actual reduction in armament.

This is an interesting comment. It shows for one that Salt 2 need not be unilaterally to America's disadvantage even as Mr Reagan sees it.

It also links up with the attitude taken by Mr Carter immediately after his inauguration but not maintained towards Moscow. It remains to be seen what will come of it, always assuming it is meant seriously.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 February 1981)

HOME AFFAIRS

Bonn coalition emerges from a shaky start with major policy questions unanswered

[Ch]ancellor Schmidt and the SPD/FDP government coalition in [Bonn] will not necessarily fall if Brok[dorf] nuclear power station is not built. [Th]e SPD, with its 100-year history, is [no m]ore going to collapse because of [the] Hansen Case than two or three dis[sident]s in the SPD parliamentary party [are] going to trigger a crisis in the coalition.

[In] theory, the SPD/FDP coalition in [Bonn] could survive defeat by the CDU [in Ber]lin and a split in its coalition in [...].

[Fo]ur months ago, the SPD and FDP [were] given a general election mandate to [stay] together in Bonn for the next four [years]. This ought to be enough to ensure [their] staying in power for the time [being] at least, provided together they [have] a majority.

[In] recent weeks it looked as if the [end] of the coalition or at least the re[sign]ation of the Chancellor was just a [matt]er of time.

[T]his had to do less with objective po[litica]l developments than with pusillanimity and lack of imagination in Bonn [poli]tics.

[M]any of the leading figures in Bonn [lac]k composure and have low tolerance [leve]ls. This can lead to small-town po[litic]al hysteria and what Willy Brandt [has] sometimes referred to as "sterile [exc]itement."

When a view of politics becomes as narrow and myopic as this, it becomes necessary to recall that the government coalition's capacity to act and the Chancellor's moral authority will be judged not on the Hansen case but on such questions as:

1. How is the Cabinet going to react to the increasingly critical unemployment situation (1.3 million jobless)?

2. How resolutely and how boldly is the government going to tackle housing shortages in the big cities and the related problems of foreign workers and their children?

3. How is it going to react to the hopes and disappointments of the younger generation of whom only a few actually use violence but an increasing number show understanding and sympathy for it?

4. How is the Bonn government, which owed its election victory to a large extent to its detente and peace policies, going to react to the change of course in Washington ranging from foreign policy in general to North-South and Nato policy?

When is the Bonn government going to make a statement, for instance, on El Salvador?

5. Finally, what are the common political and moral bases of this coalition, assuming it ever had any? What are the medium-term contentual objectives of both parties?

How solid are the principles of SPD Ministers who find themselves nodding through arms sales such as submarines for Chile? What about their Social Democratic instincts?

And in the FDP would anyone who wrote the following have a chance today? "The Liberal Party must free itself from its class trammels and hence from capitalism. This is a precondition of its future." (Karl-Hermann Flach).

Not even the government press spokesmen have said that Helmut Schmidt, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and their colleagues Wischnewski, Huber, Ehrenberg, Lambsdorff, Hoppe, Baum and the rest have put up a good performance to date.

There is clearly a mood of crestfallenness among the politicians, caused by a realisation of their weaknesses and fallibility. This is not an unsympathetic quality.

Consciousness of new tasks ahead is also increasing, as Schmidt's reference to the problems of youth in his recent Bundestag speech underline.

Nonetheless, everyday Bonn business concentrates on the management of crises: yesterday Garski and the Berlin crisis, today Brokdorf and the Hamburg crisis, tomorrow the Frankfurt airport extension and Hesse crises.

What is worrying here is that the solution of these crises is described as the most urgent task of Social and Free Democratic policies.

All it then takes is for a number of things to go wrong at the same time and moods blacken, crises loom.

True, the coalition has been through a lot since the government policy statement: from Reagan's electoral victory to the Berlin problem and the debate on nuclear modernisation and energy (in which the Hansen Case is only one element).

The coalition could hardly have been worse prepared, contentually and psychologically, for these crises. The SPD leadership, had, in the eyes of the rank and file, given way to the FDP on a number of key issues and so had its hands full trying to calm down dissatisfaction and criticism in the party.

In contrast, the FDP seemed intoxicated by its election success and its good showing in the coalition negotiations.

Its general secretary Günter Verheugen defended Chancellor Schmidt against SPD criticism, Foreign Minister Genscher called the SPD to order on arms modernisation, Economic Affairs Minister Lambsdorff put paid to top-level talks on co-determination.

All this would have been tough for any coalition to handle — and all the more so for this one, whose raison d'être had narrowed to providing a kind of alternative to the Strauss/Wörner line in intra-German and foreign policy.

Even here, though, there are tell-tale signs of crumbling unity. The first reactions to the new tough line from Washington, especially Herr Genscher's willingness to support Mr Haig's policy of strength and America first, cast doubts on the permanence of SPD-FDP harmony in this area.

The same applies to the amazingly inflexible and cold government response to Günter Gaus's thought-provoking reflections on the German question and the "unity of the nation."

What is to happen if Washington actually implements its modernisation policies, extends its political influence or even the Nato sphere of operations?

A week ago in the Bundestag budget debate Helmut Schmidt had brave words for himself and for the SPD:

"I would have no reservations about the American phrase second to none. But I would have considerable reservations about the phrase 'superior to all others'."

This caused unrest on the CDU/CSU benches, according to the Bundestag's official record of proceedings.

Schmidt's words were directed more towards Washington than towards the Bundestag. But what are these considerable reservations, and are they shared by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher?

What happens when Washington puts on the heat? Is the day-to-day solidarity of the coalition strong enough to survive

Deutsches Allgemeines SONNTAGSBLATT

differences of opinion between Bonn and Washington over Nato, where the room for manoeuvre is limited enough as it is?

The way the coalition partners have started their new term of office does not bode well here.

At least they have recognised the problem, and the FDP must take much of the credit for bringing the coalition's psychological winter crisis under control last week.

The FDP parliamentary party played an extremely important part here. They told their negotiators on co-determination to show more flexibility.

The FDP parliamentarians are also holding back their leader Foreign Minister Genscher on arms exports ("the Bonn government's hitherto restrictive attitude is to be maintained").

Also conspicuous are the FDP's non-intervention in the Hansen Case and the FDP leadership's refusal to make an issue of the resolution by 24 SPD MPs to transfer DM1bn from defence to overseas development.

The Vogel cabinet's good start in Berlin has also had a calming effect. Finally, the cordial relations between leading figures in the coalition have helped bring about detente in the Bonn alliance of Social and Free Democrats.

The warning sirens have been turned off, but the danger still lurks. Politically, the coalition has made no progress.

Doubts remain about its capacity to solve the real political problems of the moment, especially in world affairs but also in the economic sphere.

The SPD/FDP coalition, after its shaky start, is over the worst. But there are four tough years ahead.

Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 8 February 1981)

[...] backbencher's criticism [gi]ves Bonn coalition jitters

Th[e] Hansen Case is in many ways [typ]ical of this phenomenon. In a maga[zine] article SPD Bundestag MP Karl-[He]inz Hansen attacked the SPD/FDP [coal]ition, modernisation of Nato nuclear [wea]pons in Western Europe and Chan[cell]or Schmidt.

One cause of indignation was Han[sen's] hard-hitting language ("dirty po[litic]al tricks").

[B]ut the Bonn indignation is directed [mor]e at the timing of the article and [that] Hansen had touched a very sore [poin]t in the party's policies.

[T]he disappointment about the coali[tion] negotiations which Hansen express[ed s]o pointedly in his article is shared, not without good reason, by many [in t]he party and in the trades unions.

[N]ot only that. The Bonn government [mad]e a faltering start to its new term of [offi]ce and was lambasted for this by al[most] the entire West German press.

[T]he Hansen Case is certainly primari[ly a]n SPD affair. Whether it decides to [repr]imand, reprove or otherwise disci[plin]e its outspoken MP is essentially an [SPD] problem.

[F]or outsiders, the case is interesting [beca]use it underlines the low psycholo[gical] and intellectual tolerance levels in [Bon]n politics.

[I]t is difficult to imagine any other [Wes]tern capital in which a magazine ar[ticl]e by an MP would lead to special ses[sion]s of the parliamentary party or a [mid]night resolution by the party executive.

[T]he Hansen farce now means that the [auth]ority, leadership and ability to act of [M]r Schmidt and the SPD executive [will] be measured by whether or not they [exp]el Hansen from the party.

Bölling moves to East Berlin as intra-German ties mark time

Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin, Klaus Bölling, told a conference on intra-German affairs recently that West Germany was willing to go on pursuing detente policies.

And indeed this was about the best that was to be expected in an icy political climate where the prevention of setbacks can be regarded as success.

West German room for manoeuvre has been severely restricted by East Berlin's decision to increase the compulsory sum to be exchanged by visitors to the GDR.

The Bonn government decided last October that there would be no further talks about loans, transport or energy projects until the GDR dropped or reduced these restrictions.

Relations between the East and the West generally are tense. What will relations between Washington and Moscow be like in future? Reagan's first political pronouncements have sounded pretty tough.

The GDR has said that counter-revolutionaries are at work in Poland.

Finally, important party congresses are coming up in the GDR and in the Soviet Union.

All this means that relations between the two German states depend on a lot of extra-German factors.

The best that can be hoped for at the moment is discussion of medium-term prospects.

This does not mean futile public discussions about nationhood and citizenship but a sober appraisal whether any further political steps towards the GDR are possible and what concessions might be expected in return.

A stocktaking of intra-German policy would not do any harm, assuming it were done discreetly.

Hans Peter Schütz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 5 February 1981)

■ LABOUR

Coalition compromise ends co-determination clash

Maybe what is made out to be the final compromise between the Social and Free Democrats in Bonn on worker directors in the coal and steel industries will indeed turn out to have been the last word on the subject.

Maybe it will hold good throughout the parliamentary procedure and see the planned legislation through to the statute book. Maybe, but it remains to be seen. One can only be sure once the Act has been gazetted.

The aim, after, is to reconcile the irreconcilable. The Social Democrats want to maintain for as long as possible equal representation for staff and shareholders on the supervisory boards of coal and steel companies.

The Free Democrats would like to see the special provisions for coal and steel scrapped as soon as possible and staff representation on the upper tier of the German two-tier board system brought into line with the 1976 Act.

By the terms of this Act directors nominated by shareholders and managements are in a slight but significant majority.

There can be no gainsaying that the Bonn coalition parties completely differ on this issue, both as a matter of conviction and by virtue of their respective interests.

And the signs are that the Free Democrats are in the better position. For them the six years in which the existing arrangements are to be retained in companies that are no longer predominantly coal and steel in orientation are a fair period of grace.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, are playing for time and hoping one day to arrive at a parliamentary majority in favour of retaining equal representation in the coal and steel industries.

But what shape is this majority to take? As long as the SPD and FDP are in joint harness in Bonn the Social Democrats will not be prepared to run the risk of making common cause with the working-class wing of the Christian Democrats.

The same would apply if the Christian Democrats were to govern in coalition with the FDP. The only permutation that could unite the advocates of equal representation would be a Grand Coalition of Social and Christian Democrats.

Yet a Grand Coalition is rightly seen as a tolerable option only in times of emergency. The slow demise of equal representation of capital and labour in coal and steel industry boardrooms hardly warrants being classified as an emergency.

The trade unions and their close associates the Social Democrats will have to come to terms with the fact that the trend is towards the provisions of the 1976 Act, which slightly favours the shareholders and management.

This they are bound to find an unpalatable truth. In the early 50s they felt the arrangements made for the coal and steel industries had started the ball rolling for a thorough democratisation of the ecomomy.

This is definitely past history to some extent now.

Besides, trade union leaders, elected democratically, had grown used to sending their nominess to represent the payroll in coal and steel boardrooms.

The unions are now only to be entitled to recommend nominees, the exact details being bitterly disputed.

Were it up to the FDP, the trade unions would have to submit two nominees for selection by the works council. The unions would then no longer be able to feel they held full responsibility for staff representation.

But this democratic selection procedure would be a far cry from how the management select their nominees. They are presented to the AGM, with no nonsense about alternative candidates!

Agreement between the Social and Free Democrats will put paid to co-determination as a bone of contention between the two for the time being.

The employers could make it easier for the unions to accept the facts of the matter by implementing the provisions of the 1976 Act fairly and in a spirit of cooperation.

The facts of the matter are that equal representation as practised in coal and steel industry boardrooms has proved fine whilst the industry was in the throes of structural reform.

But now that coal and steel are declining in importance in the overall economic context the special provisions for equal representation on supervisory boards must likewise decline in importance.

Gerhard Meyonburg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 February 1981)

Civil service privileges

Civil servants and the privileges they are said to enjoy are always fair game for criticism at this time of the year when wage agreements between unions and employers come up for renegotiation.

This year the debate is livelier than ever because there has never been such pressure on public-sector budgets to save money.

But the mere mention of a specific privilege is enough to trigger an entire chorus of counter-arguments.

Tell an official in the Bonn Finance Ministry that the Ministerial weighting costs the Federal budget DM98m a year and he is sure to reply that the weighting is part of his salary. Without it he would not have considered the work.

If the Finance Ministry were not to pay him an appropriate salary it would lose a highly-qualified civil servant to private enterprise.

He might, for instance, be an official capable of unravelling the tax subterfuges to which the oil multis resort. He is thus a man who saves the taxpaying public much more than he costs them.

At the same time there is also the case of the 36-year-old Bonn *Oberamtsrat* who is at ease in the swimming baths at 3.15pm every Friday even though he is not entitled to call it a day until 3.15pm.

What is more, outside Bonn he could not expected to reach the *Oberamtsrat* salary grade until shortly before retirement.

At the other end of the scale a *Vorwärts* reader refers to a Bundespost officer in Swabia who did the work of a *Hauptsekretär* for 14 years but was only paid the salary of a *Hauptschaffner*. The reason was that his punctuation was not quite perfect.

He at least will welcome a move made by 30 university lecturers and 30 parliamentarians, senior civil servants all, for all civil servants earning more than DM50,000 per annum to forgo their salary increase this year.

The spokesman for this group, West Berlin sociologist Peter Grottian, says the saving could be used to underwrite 60,000 new civil service jobs, especially in health, welfare and education, labour, finance and environment agencies.

There is a clear shortage of manpower in all these sectors. It gives the lie to conservative claims that it is high time a damper were put on the public service.

Professor Grottian's proposals sent representatives of civil service associations scurrying nervously for counter-arguments.

Those affiliated to DGB, the trades union confederation, carry special weight, even though they agree with him in principle to the extent that they too advocate far-reaching changes.

But what use is it pointing out that the DM50,000-limit would hit a married man much harder than it would a single man? There is nothing easier than to suggest in return that the limit be made more flexible.

Professor Grottian's proposals have nothing to do with the wage talks; they are merely a fundamental idea. But they are most unlikely to find support in the civil service regulations department of the Interior Ministry.

Deutscher Beamtenbund, the civil service association, is even less likely to endorse them; it is keen to uphold civil service privileges.

They are sure to find a ready hearing at the DGB, however, where consideration has been given to civil service privileges for some time.

In drafting Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, DGB chairman Hans Böckler was in favour of career civil servants running the country.

There were no other historic models by which to go, and he rejected proposals submitted by the Allies.

In 1978 the DGB rejected the idea of the career civil service in its present form and called for uniform regulations governing civil servants, salaried and wage-earning staff in the public service.

This is the only way in which civil servants, who draw separate pensions, might conceivably be included in the general social security network.

It is also the only way in which requirements might be introduced that could make civil service careers in any way comparable with jobs in private enterprise.

But let there be no illusions that this change might be brought about overnight. The Christian Democrats swear by Basic Law and the Free Democrats are reluctant to upset a large group of potential FDP voters.

An amendment of Basic Law can only be passed by a two-thirds majority in the Bundestag. How, in the circumstances, is this to come about, regardless whether or not it is long overdue?

(Vorwärts, 6 February 1981)

Jobless total nears 1½m

For months the unemployment statistics published by the Federal ... Office in Nuremberg have sou[nded a] progressively gloomier note.

The number of registered unemp[loyed] are increasing by the month. So ... numbers of workers on short time ... of whom will be wondering how ... their company can manage ... going by resorting to this subterfu[ge] ... a temporary partial shutdown.

Last month there happen ... been 2,000 more vacancies ... than in December, but that is ... here nor there in view of the sup[erior] supply over demand for labour.

Once a month the head of the ... Office, Herr Stingl, faces the TV ... ras to reassure us all that the furth[er in]crease in the number of jobless is ... seasonal and cyclical criteria.

This may well be true, but it ... come an explanation that sounds ... reotyped as it is lacking in convicti[on].

The nearer the jobless total ... proaches a million and a half, th[e soo]ner the time must come to tal[k] tacks.

The trade unions have for som[e time] been clamouring for active employ[ment] policies to be pursued by the st[ate], which they mean economic pump[-prim]ing to contain unemployment.

The Bundesbank is also to ... hand by reducing interest rates, ... are unusually high by German sta[ndards].

As yet these demands are opp[osed by] a majority in the Bonn coalition ... are also rejected by the Opposition ... by industrial and commercial interests.

Their main argument is that ... planned 4.3-per-cent increase in ... spending is already anti-cyclical ... much as no more than a nomi[nal] ... per-cent increase in GNP is expe[cted].

They further argue that step[ping up] expenditure still further would ... much more difficult to con[trol] spending, that new borrowing wo[uld fur]ther increase interest rates and th[at pub]lic expenditure by way of pump-p[riming] does not take short-term effect ... well prove pro-cyclical in the long ...

These views are reflected in the ... government's annual economic ... Mention is made, as indeed it ... commercial and industrial interests ... selves, of the economy's innate p... of investment and renewal.

Besides, booster programmes ... tend to distort structural change ... employment is often a pointer to ... tural change, which may be papered ... by pump-priming but will later ... appear with even greater impetus.

There is in any case a tendency ... misinterpret structural unemployment ... cyclical unemployment. Economic ... ter measures are, when all is said ... done, politically more attractive ... structural policy.

They are more likely to come up ... short-term successes and do not ... to burden anyone with the tribu[lations] of adjustment.

In the Bundestag budget debate ... sectors, housing and power station ... struction, were repeatedly referred ... potential wellsprings to get the eco[nomy] back on the move.

Both are subject to legal and po[litical] restraints that hold a backlog of p[oten]tial demand in check.

But how is this demand to be ... formed into economic motive for[ce] ...

Continued on page 5

TALKING POINTS

Hamburg SPD votes against nuclear power

A special conference of Hamburg Social Democrats has voted to pull ... of the Brokdorf nuclear power sta[tion] project.

But matters are not really as clear-cut ... this rejection would suggest. The ... of interest and power is more ... and complex.

One key question is should the Ham[burg] SPD bow to the wishes of Chan[cel]lor Helmut Schmidt, who favours the [buil]ding of Brokdorf?

Another is internal rivalry within the Hamburg SPD, and personal hostility [to]wards, or support for, Mayor Hans-Ul[ri]ch Klose.

The Hamburg SPD also has to take into account the reactions of Social Democrats in Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein.

With Land elections coming up in Hamburg, the SPD must also consider its relations with the Free Democrats. The Hamburg FDP is against Brokdorf, the Schleswig-Holstein FDP is sitting on the fence.

Quite apart from political considerations, there is the crucial issue of where electricity supplies for Hamburg in particular and North Germany in general are to come from.

All this makes it well-nigh impossible to unravel the precise motives behind the votes for and against the Brokdorf project.

Furthermore, it is still completely unclear how the Hamburg city administration will react to the SPD conference vote. It is not bound by it but it will hardly be able to ignore it without badly upsetting the party.

And if Hamburg finally does drop Brokdorf, who will take over Hamburg's share of it and what will Hamburg do to fill the gap it leaves?

Despite the apparently clear-cut party conference decision on Monday evening, a lot of questions remain open.

But behind the tangle of tactics, animosity, emotion and party infighting there is a specific problem calling for solution.

The party conference decision could come nearer to solving this problem than a superficial description of the battle order indicates.

The Hamburg decision on Brokdorf can be uncoupled from the fundamental argument about the use of nuclear energy.

It may be seen as the implementation of policies advocated by those who want nuclear power to be used to meet residual energy requirements for a transitional period.

After this period the use of West German coal and energy-saving measures would have priority.

From this perspective, the Brokdorf issue becomes a test of the credibility of the residual energy and energy-saving thesis.

The recent Bundestag budget debate emphasised that West German dependence on oil to generate electric power has been considerably reduced. The opportunity to save energy is far greater than our dependence on oil.

This means that increase use of nuclear power can no longer be justified by the slogan "Reduce our dependence on oil" — at least not as long as the market encourages electricity consumption instead of electricity saving.

The most recent example of this is a special cheap electricity rate for heat pumps. Here, oil consumption is replaced by electricity consumption.

This makes the consumer well and truly dependent on atomic energy. Meanwhile, waste heat goes unused and begging.

If we were to take the residual energy theory really seriously, all plausible savings and alternative supply sources would have to be studied before building an atomic power station.

Energy-saving policies require cooperation over the whole national electricity grid. The Commission of Enquiry report on "The Future of Atomic Energy Policy" lists 162 possible ways of saving energy.

But as long as no one seriously attempts to put these proposals into practice, the residual eenergy theory will remain a hypothesis.

The Hamburg decision involves another aspect. Major urban population centres are the best places for combining large-scale use of process heat with the use of smaller power stations.

But budget limits alone mean that Hamburg cannot afford this process heat and small power station combination *and* a nuclear power station.

At the moment it is impossible to say whether Hamburg will use the combination. Perhaps there will be controversy about where to build a modern coal-fired power station.

One thing, however, is clear: if Hamburg now went ahead with Brokdorf, it would be ruling out any real alternative in the long term.

This would bring a credibility problem and hit the theory of moderate use of atomic energy as a "stopgap" far harder than a simple Hamburg "yes" to Brokdorf would have done.

Certainly, Hamburg has already invested a lot of money in Brokdorf. The Hamburg SPD vote came about it in a complex and roundabout way. Many of the no votes probably came from absolute opponents of atomic energy.

But despite the loss of money and of face in some quarters the Hamburg vote should also be seen as an opportunity ro pursue pragmatic energy policies.

After all that has happened, and because of the prestige value of the whole project, this may be very difficult. But it is never too late to try. *Robert Leicht*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 February 1981)

Mayor Klose (right), here seen with his wife Elke, is jubilant at the outcome of the party conference (Photo: José L. Camejo)

Continued from page 4

...ng as the main political parties in [Bo]nn are totally at odds on the issues [con]cerned?

[I]n energy policy in particular the [SP]D, by virtue of its Hamburg region's ... against Brokdorf nuclear power sta[tion], has demonstrated its virtual inabil[i]ty to outline perspectives.

Unemployment has not yet given rise [to] feelings of catastrophe, as in Britain, [wh]ere 10 per cent are now jobless. True [en]ough, West Germany cuts a fine [fig]ure in international comparisons.

It would be equally irresponsible to [la]y the blame at the door of unions and [m]anagement as they line up for the annual [ro]und of wage talks. They are by no [me]ans solely to blame for the economic [do]wnturn.

There are no sure-fire solutions to un[em]ployment, but it is obvious that a [gre]ater degree of consensus amongst [tho]se who co-determine the labour [m]arket cannot but be beneficial.

Rainer Diermann

(Nordwest Zeitung, 4 February 1981)

High time to restore law and order

How defenceless is the state, how defenceless are the citizens, including those demonstrating peacefully, against these criminal men of violence?

Public indignation after the bloody events during the anti-Brokdorf demonstration in Hamburg is widespread.

But the politicians involved all agree that the state has no choice but to use legal violence to counter illegal violence.

Where they disagree is on what methods the state should use. Should people be allowed to wear masks, and helmets at demonstrations? This question threatens to be submerged in an incomprehensible inter-party dispute.

State prosecutor-general Kurt Rebmann's proposal that violent demonstrators could be tried for taking part in a criminal conspiracy has fallen on stony ground, even with Hamburg's Home Affairs Senator Alfons Pawelczyk.

Spokesmen for citizens' action committees have said that the damage in Hamburg, amounting to millions of deutschemarks, was the result of the anger and resignation of young people who saw no future in society.

Those who excuse violence and play down crimes are earthy to blame for the destruction of law and thus of freedom.

Furthermore, greater political acumen would neither harm the citizens' action committees not detract from their idealistic goals. *Hans Wolff*

(Nordwest Zeitung, 4 February 1981)

[I]n Berlin and Frankfurt at the end of January and in Hamburg at the [be]ginning of February, honourable peo[ple] took to the streets to demonstrate [fo]r honourable ends.

And in all three cases, the same thing [ha]ppened: they were joined by a few [hu]ndred people determined to use this [op]portunity and the protection the [m]asses gave them to commit crimes.

These masked, helmeted, heavily [arm]ed and tightly-organised thugs do [no]t care whether the demonstration is [fo]r peace in El Salvador, for an end to [th]e housing shortage in Berlin or against [th]e atomic power station in Brokdorf. All [th]ey want to do is provoke the state.

Violence is used against the constitu[ti]on and the rule of law. The test for the [st]ate is whether it has, or is prepared to [u]se, enough power to win a victory for [la]w over violence.

Gaus on Germany

Bismarck's German Reich, set up after the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, only lasted until 1938, not even 70 years. Then it became the Greater German Reich, which crumbled in 1945.

Now, four long decades later, does the German nation still exist? Günter Gaus, the man asking these questions, spent six years pondering over them as Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin.

As Bonn's man in East Berlin, he found the East German leadership determined to underline the difference between the two German states.

He found the West often inclined to discuss the issue in high-flown and sentimental terms. But often, and worse, he also found indifference to the question.

He has now said there should be less talk about the German nation. What he is calling for here is more truthfulness.

Nonetheless, we ought not to take his advice. Not only for legal reasons or because the constitution talks of German unity but because there is simply no better word than nation for it.

The unity of the German nation did not begin in 1870. And it did not end in 1945. Gaus himself was struck by this lasting historical and cultural identity on his travels through East Germany.

Only in East Germany did he discover that the Elbe is not the German border. And he wishes more West Germans would realise that East Germany is more than a grey expanse ruled by the Socialist Unity Party.

There is a core of truth in Gaus's criticisms. But the restriction on travel between the two countries and the prohibitively high compulsory exchange rate for visitors to East Germany prevent the majority of West Germans from finding out about their fellow-Germans in the East.

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 31 January 1981)

ECONOMIC TRENDS

Is tightfisted response to zero growth shortsighted and self-defeating?

West Germans were once described as world economic champions. If this description ever was accurate, it stopped being so two years ago, when the second oil price explosion began tarnishing the brilliance of the deutschemark.

There are huge gaps in the current account, and the domestic imbalance, characterised by huge public spending, is even more alarming.

People have suddenly realised we are living beyond our means, have to tighten our belts and cut spending, the sooner the better.

If there were any doubts at all about the need for this change of attitude, they were swept brutally aside by the government at the end of January.

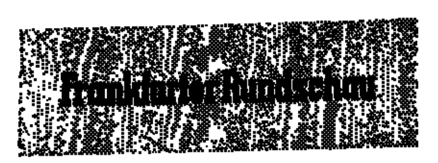
Bonn goes firm on forecast of GNP decline

On 28 January the Bonn Cabinet forecast zero growth in the German economy this year. Like all the leading economic research institutes, it was expecting a drop in gross national product.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition also made it clear in the budget debate that it aims to pursue policies in line with this realisation.

The way ahead is now clear in all fields of economic policy. The Bundesbank is already applying the money supply brake and employers are obviously determined to get tough in the forthcoming round of pay negotiations.

There is no doubt that we have to face comparatively lean years in the next



decade. Increases in affluence such as have regularly been achieved over the past 30 years are very unlikely to recur in the 80s. There are obstacles to growth everywhere one looks.

Many markets are already almost saturated, for example motors and household equipment. Many industries are also facing fierce competition on world markets because low-wage countries are now producing technological goods.

Then there are the huge price rises for energy and many raw materials which make entire production techniques unprofitable and require huge capital investment over many years.

Finally, and most importantly, we will have to share these more modest increases in gross national product with more and more people in the world.

The oil price rise, the EEC budget and increasing arms expenditure are all not internal redistributions of income; they deprive us of purchasing power, which we only get back indirectly.

So far, so good. We will have to get used to stop expecting greater affluence from year to year such as we have enjoyed up to now.

The question remains, though: Are all these cuts in all fields of economic policy really the most likely method of achieving long-term success?

The problems we face today are the result of long-term developments. The second oil price explosion was not a bolt out of the blue; there had been a similar one five years previously.

Thanks to our economic strength, we merely managed to ward off the effects for longer than most other industrial countries.

The government in Bonn, the Bundesbank in Frankfurt and leading employers up and down the country are all about to overload the economic system — and the public — with cuts.

In the name of structural change important supports are being removed from the economy. This will only hamper structural change, because the cuts are far too general and do not take sufficient account of real economic performance in the different sectors.

This year the Bonn government aims to keep its budget deficit to the same level as last year to limit the increase in expenditure to only four per cent. In fact, this thrift merely fuels recession.

If the Bundesbank cuts the money supply even tighter than last year, it will keep interest at record levels and deter people from making necessary investments.

If employers stick to their guns and insist on only paying 2.5 per cent more wages, not even offsetting inflation, they will be depriving themselves of demand for their goods.

The shortsightedness of this new economic policy puts social peace at risk.

We Germans, it seems, are reacting to these new and painful experiences like past masters who have had it so good for so long they can no longer cope with setbacks.

Fritz Kral

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 January 1981)

High time to get moving

Bonn's gloomy economic forecasts for the coming months are unlikely to alarm the majority of West Germans.

Most have already achieved a high level of affluence and it will not hit them too hard if this affluence does not increase further in the short term.

This general satisfaction, coupled with scepticism about gloomy predictions, tends to make people shrug off the predicted unemployment figures.

They are wrong. Forecasts say the national unemployment average will be around 1.1 million this year. Many face the prospect of losing their jobs.

Others may find another job but the experience of being out of work will have confronted them with serious economic difficulties for the first time.

The time in which the state could sit back and hope for industry to pull the economy out of the slump is past. Even though the range of measures the state can take is small, pressure to take them is growing.

There can be no justification for billion-mark handouts in the vague hope that so much money is bound to have some effect.

The government must stick to its course of cutting superfluous subsidies and trimming down public service wage bills.

What the state can do is help in the long-term improvement of the economy by saving oil, the development of new energy technologies and the industrial application of technological research.

Such a programme would not work miracles. But it could help to get the economy moving. Higher revenue from taxes on petrol and diesel oil would be well employed on measures to cut consumption.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 January 1981)

INDUSTRY

Intelligent pragmatist at Siemens helm

Karlheinz Kaske (Photo: Siemens)

Karlheinz Kaske, the new man at the helm of Siemens, the Munich electrical engineering company, pricked up his ears when his secretary at the Siemens subsidiary in Venezuela said Peter von Siemens had called.

"He said you should go and see him as soon as you are back in Germany," she said.

That was at the end of June 1979. Early in July, immediately after the summer meeting of the Siemens supervisory board, it was official.

Herr Kaske, for the previous two years head of energy technology, was to be deputy chairman of the board from 1 January 1980.

This made him next in line to Siemens managing director Bernhard Plettner. Now, a good year later, Kaske is moving up to take over the number one spot.

Plettner, 66, is moving to the supervisory board, where he will replace 70-year-old Peter von Siemens as chairman. Fifty-two-year-old Kaske is taking Plettner's place.

Siemens have a hefty annual turnover of DM32bn, which puts them a respectable fifth in world electrical engineering ratings, after IBM, General Electric and ITT of the United States and Philips of Holland.

Siemens are No. 3 in German industry behind fuel and power conglomerate Veba and motor manufacturers Volkswagen. They are No. 22 in world ratings.

With 344,000 employees at home and abroad, Siemens are by far the biggest private employer in West Germany.

Till recently almost completely unknown to the general public, Karlheinz Kaske is now one of the big bosses of German industry.

The change had been planned for some time and passed off smoothly and without speculation. Few other companies could compete with Siemens in this respect.

It was natural, for instance that the chairman's job at Siemens would go to someone from within the firm.

Plettner made it clear some time ago that the company would be run by a technocrat — though "technocrats only" are not to be found at this level.

It was also clear that only a departmental director would be considered. Kaske's age was right, too. His appointment nonetheless came as a surprise to the general public.

Kaske's curriculum vitae is as follows. He studied physics at Aachen University, gaining his PhD at the age of 22.

This was only possible because he had passed his Abitur examination at the age of 16 and began university in Danzig in the last year of the war.

The first step in Kaske's Siemens career was a post in the development department of the Werner Measurement Technology Co. in Karlsruhe.

His initial salary was a meagre DM250, plus a special increment of DM25 for his exceptional academic qualifications.

Three years later, he left to take up a post in the Aachen district mining association, also teaching at the School of Mining.

Kaske freely admits today that his seven years in Aachen did him good. However, he soon realised that his prospects in the industry were limited.

It was fortunate that just around this time he had a phone call from Siemens asking him if he would be interested in coming back to them.

He said yes. After that, he climbed the career ladder rapidly. He was soon thoroughly familiar with house style. In 1967 Siemens sent him as an advisor to Fuji Electric in Tokyo.

When he returned from the Far East, he became director of the planning department, which at that time was reorganising Siemens & Halske (low voltage current) and Siemens-Schuckert (heavy currents).

By the time he had switched from the measurement technology department of Siemens & Halske to energy technology in what had formerly been Siemens Schuckert, the international competitiveness of the company's energy technology had increased considerably.

Taking me through his career, he said there were very few colleagues at Siemens who had been transferred from one department to another within the company as often as he.

Over the years he had gained a thorough knowledge of development, consultancy, planning, sales and production — both at home and abroad.

He regretted the tendency in industrial nations for more and more of the gross national product to be ploughed into the administrative and service sectors, where productivity was far lower than in industry.

He said there would have to be far more investment in industry, not to rationalise office jobs out of existence but to create them.

Kaske said he was "optimistic enough to believe that in the long or the short term people would realise that atomic energy is essential, even in West Germany."

He found the amount of fossil energy sources "destroyed" to produce heat and energy incredible.

He said he objected as a physicist to this plundering of the world's resources, citing the baleful example of the Spaniards, who cut down their woods to build the Armada.

Are there weak spots in the company's make-up, will it have to bring in outsiders to improve its know-how?

"We lead in many areas. But no company with our immense range of products can keep its nose ahead in all sectors — no company in the world can afford this."

Ever since he was nominated the man most likely to succeed Plettner, Kaske has had to put up with being pigeonholed.

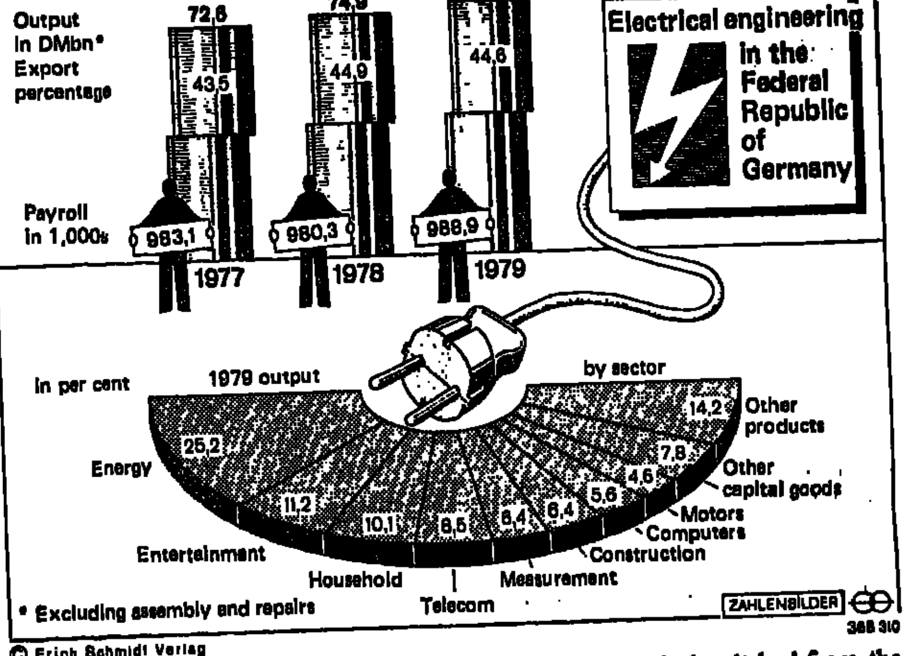
Some said he did not come across as the typical dynamic manager type. Others said he was no revolutionary leader figure and was not electrifying.

It is in the nature of things that he must first acquire a public profile as boss of Siemens. His two predecessors, Gerd Tacke, a brillant speaker, and Bernhard Plettner, already a well known name when he took up the post, had a far easier time of it.

But Kaske is an intelligent pragmatist and he can take his time finding his own leadership style. He will not need any high-falutin management theories to do so.

Will he be less tough than Plettner?

Continued on page 9



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Siemens may buy major holding in hard-hit Grundig

Rumours have been flying around for over a year now that Siemens, West Germany's biggest electrical company, was planning to take over Grundig.

When the rumour was first put about, Max Grundig made a number of disparaging noises. He has now, it seems, changed his tune.

The unofficial word within Grundig is that they would "welcome" cooperation with Siemens. Talks have already started.

Max Grundig now seems keen on as close a degree of cooperation as possible with Siemens. The word is that he would like Munich-based Siemens to take a 24.5 per cent share in Grundig, as its main European rival, Philips, did a year ago.

No greater share is possible, otherwise the Berlin-based Monopolies Commission would step in and veto the arrangement.

Siemens are unlikely to accept any less than a 24.5 per cent share in Grundig. It is difficult to see how they would accept a smaller share than their main European rivals.

News from Grundig at the moment is bleak. This year it will be closing down four factories and laying off 2,000 workers. So it needs strong partners.

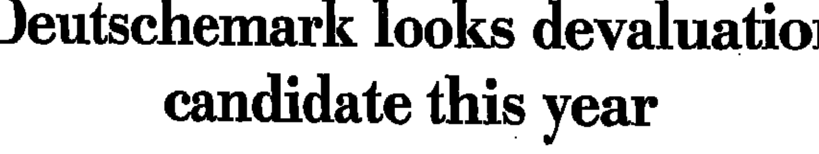
Grundig's main weakness is in basic research and little has been done to eliminate this weakness in recent years.

As mere assemblers of components, Grundig cannot in the long run stand up to fierce Japanese competition, especially as the real crunch has yet to come.

There are going to be fierce price wars in the video sector this year. It is common knowledge that Grundig and Philips make little or no profit on their new, high-quality video recorders. Support from a strong partner like Siemens could help Grundig to survive.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 January 1981)

Government sources are publicly optimistic about the chances of keeping inflation below five per cent this year.



Deutschemark looks devaluation candidate this year

Their arguments, taken alone, sound convincing but overlook one crucial factor: the storm clouds looming on the export horizon.

The deutschemark is looking a stronger candidate for devaluation than ever. And devaluation, while helping exports, causes inflation at home.

Forecasts that the West German current account deficit could be cut from DM28bn to DM20bn can now be completely discounted.

Experts are already talking about a probable deficit of 24 to 25bn deutschemarks, and the Morgan Bank reckons it could be as high as $17bn, or about DM34bn.

Severe payments deficits hit currencies even harder than discrepancies in rates of inflation, which only have a longer-term effect.

Take Italy. It has galloping inflation, but interest rates are so high that capital inflow tends to offset this.

This is the crucial reason for the poor showing of the deutschemark on foreign exchange markets. Interest rates are too low.

Nothing can be done about this in the present economic climate but even the Bundesbank now openly admits that a major opportunity was missed while the economy was booming.

It should have made the money sidelined in minimum reserves available to the banks — but it should have charged more for it.

This is all the more regrettable as the position of our major competitors has now improved markedly. The USA is now heading for a payments surplus, so it is no wonder the dollar is gaining.

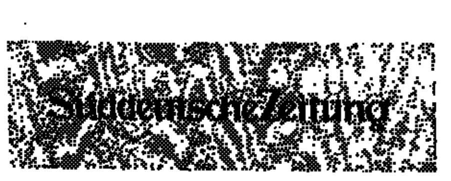
As for inflation, Germany's position is not as good as many would have us believe. Britain has forced inflation down to a mere 8 per cent and is expecting a further reduction.

If inflation here were to hit 6 per cent, we would not be much better off than the UK. The Japanese have inflation down to 7.5 per cent and have set themselves a target of 5 per cent.

In analysing the economic situation, we have to take the background into account, and politicians still do not seem to realise where the real problem lies.

Many economists argue that West Germany has lost much of its competitiveness in recent years. Productivity is not rising at previous levels and consumption, particularly government spending, has boomed at the expense of investment.

Not enough has been done to reduce



dependence on crude oil, and public spending has to be radically reduced.

The role of the European Monetary System in the process of deutschemark devaluation is not clear. Out-and-out supporters of the EMS are rare.

They say the EMS is primarily a political instrument and the Bundesbank is making the best of things.

They argue that the real test for the system will only come when one currency, such as the German mark again, becomes too strong.

At the moment, the EMS is braking further devaluation of the DM. This has advantages and disadvantages.

There has been no need for any major intervention in the EMS for some time now, though last year a total of 4.2bn DM was spent on interventions to correct the course of the French franc against the deutschemark and vice-versa.

Experts now say there would be no very spectacular difference if the mark and the franc were now allowed to float freely against one another.

They argue that the difference in interest rates between West Germany and France is too small to compensate for the EMS exchange-rate bandwidth of 4.5 per cent.

The high inflow of money and capital into France last year was caused partly by nationalised companies' foreign debts and by oil countries increasingly using the franc as a reserve currency.

The French are working hard and to reduce their dependence on oil and for this reason alone are pursuing tough currency policies.

In 1980 France's balance of payments deficit was DM30bn, but at the same time its currency reserves rose by 6 billion dollars.

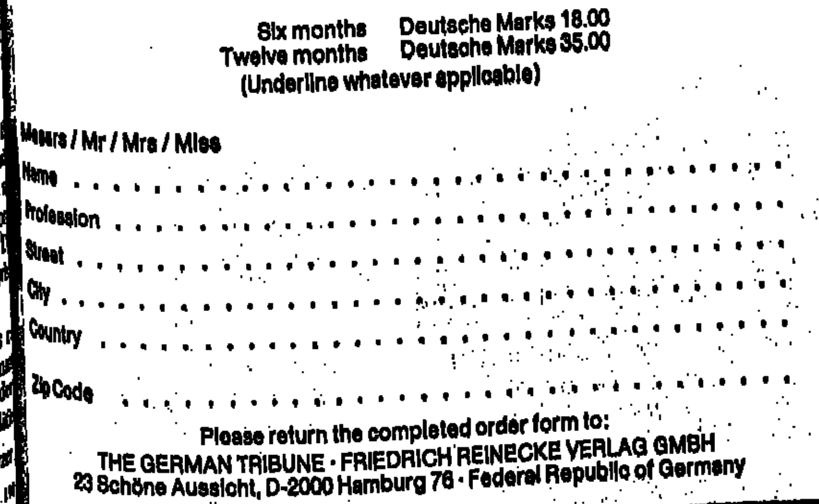
As for the dollar, a year ago the Bundesbank intervened to sell dollars, then changed course and did the opposite, rightly anticipating lower US interest rates. In autumn it reverted to its original course.

The Americans have been one of the major supporters of the dollar with 5.5bn DM of swap obligations. They will also soon have to repay Carter bonds and Carter notes totalling 9.5bn DM. These were issued two years ago when the dollar was in trouble.

Rumour has it that the USA has not only accumulated enough deutschemarks to fulfil obligations but also has deutschemarks stockpiled for all eventualities.

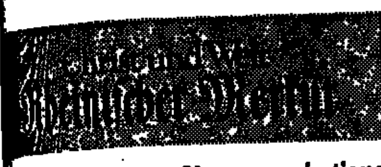
Otto Schwarzer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 January 1981)



TELECOM

Munich aerospace company helps to develop and build Intelsat V



The latest Intelsat V communications satellite launched from Cape Cana-ral, Florida, last December opened up ...ly new telecom markets.

...telsat V, operated by the Intelsat in-...tional comsat corporation, can relay ...ghly 12,000 two-way telephone calls ...d two colour TV programmes simul-...eously from one continent to ano-...er.

Back in 1962 the first comsat, Telstar, ...dled a mere 60 telephone links. Sat-...ite communications have since gone ...m strength to strength.

Since the early 60s the demand for ...ercontinental telecommunications has ...creased so swiftly that satellites have ...oved the only solution.

Telecom links no longer consisted ...inly of cables laid on the seabed and ...ean floor; they were relayed via outer ...ace, where comsats receive signals, ...ost them and relay them to the next ...ntinent.

A geostationary orbit at a vantage ...int seemingly perched 36,000km over ... equator is particularly well suited to ... purpose.

Comsats are manoeuvred into position ... kept at a speed that enables them to ... the equator in exactly 24 hours, ...by seeming to stay put in the sky. ...ey can thus be kept permanently ... target by ground stations relaying te-...ommunications within their transmis-... range.

Intelsat V's geostationary orbit keeps ... perched in mid-Atlantic, just right for the transatlantic sector, which is the bu-siest telecom route in the world.

A further five or six Intelsat Vs will be located elsewhere over the equator, mainly over the ocean to serve as satel-lite links between continents.

Technological progress is best indi-cated by comparison with Intelsat IV, its predecessor.

Intelsat V weighs 975kg, or only a few pounds more than Intelsat IV, but handling capacity has been almost doubled from 6,200 to 12,000 phone calls.

One of the main reasons for this great leap forward is sure to have been the decision by Ford Aerospace, the US general contractors, to internationalise the project and utilise European know-how.

Components were commissioned from European companies whenever they were not availlable in the perfection re-quired from US manufacturers.

Ford Aerospace handled 75 per cent of development work but seven firms in all were associated with the Intelsat V project. The others were British, French, German and Italian.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the Munich aerospace company, handled 10 per cent of the contract, the lion's share of Europe's 25 per cent.

MBB have been responsible for the two large solar cell paddles and the complex positioning system, which is largely responsible for the new satellite's performance.

It was the first time the Americans had ever commissioned the development of such a major feature of a satellite sys-tem from a non-American company. MBB can pride themselves on this acco-lade.

Intelsat V differs substantially in de-sign from its predecessors, Intelsat I to IV. They were all cylindrical and stabilised by virtue of their rotation.

Intelsat V is stabilised on three axes, much more satisfactorily than on a sing-le, vertical axis. For its entire lifespan its individual antennas can be beamed ex-actly at major ground stations.

MBB gained experience with three-axle positioning on the Franco-German Symphonie comsat project. Symphonie was put into orbit by US launcher rockets in 1974-75. The Symphonie sat-ellites are still in position in their geostationary orbits and still in full working order. They were the first to use three-axle stabilisa-tion. They were fol-lowed by the OTS satellites, which li-kewise made a name for the-mselves by outstan-ding radio perfor-mance. Satellites are kept in position by small gas jets. As soon as a change in position is noted the jets are activated and the position is righted by a short, weak push in the op-posite direction.

A sensor system that homes in on the earth's horizon spots any departure or deviation from position. It activates the jets whenever the infra-red sensors de-tect in change in brightness.

Three-axis stabilisation has the further advantage of enabling the satellite to be fitted out with gigantic solar paddles al-ways facing the Sun.

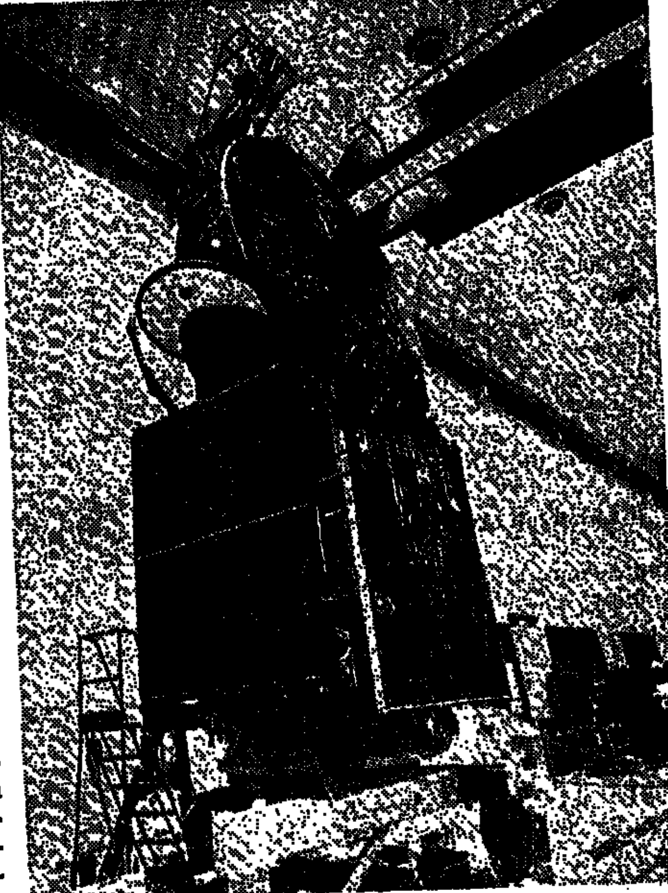
They generate more power than the solar cells of previous Intelsat systems, which were attached to the outer walls of the satellite cylinders, thus always being in the dark on one side.

Intelsat IV had to make do with 540 watts, whereas Intesat V has 1,700 watts at the ready, and three times more electric power is a tremendous advantage.

Intelsat V's solar generator consists of two three-panel wings that are not out-stretched until the satellite is safely in orbit.

They are then 7.1 metres (23ft 4in) long, and each wing, or paddle, boasts 17,600 AEG solar cells.

The main transmission antenna is 2.4 metres (7ft 10in) in diameter. There are a further three smaller horn-shaped and three dish antennas for receiving and transmitting on various frequencies.



Intelsat V

There are currently about 150 ground stations in comsat use in the 102 Intel-sat member-countries.

Experience has shown that demand for telephone and other communications in a country doubles every four to five years. This meant that the Intelsat V generation had to be designed with growth in mind.

Higher capacity cuts cost per line across the Atlantic

The new satellites will be in use for seven years, so they will need to incor-porate suuficient capacity to mmet demand seven years hence.

Last year about 26,300 telephone links between Europe and North America were required. Between Asia and Ameri-ca 6,100 channels were needed on ave-rage, between Asia and Europe about 9,500 lines.

Overall average demand was thus 41,900, which can be met with ease by four Intelsats, with two straddling the Atlantic. These two will have their work cut out, but older satellites are still in operation, so capacity is available.

The first seven Intelsat Vs were an order worth $235m. Each launching by Atlas Centaur rocket costs $76m.

To be more exact, the rocket and the launching cost $42m. The satellite itself accounts for the remainder.

It is interesting to note what a tele-phone link used to cost per year and what it costs now. In 1965, for instance, an open line across the Atlantic cost $32,000 per annum.

By 1970 the cost had been cut to $20,000, falling to $8,500 in 1975. Last year it was a mere $5,000, and Intelsat V will probably result in further price cuts.

This should boost demand for satellite telephone links, so the development of further comsats with even higher capaci-ty would seem to be a foregone conclu-sion.

Wolfgang Engelhardt

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 16 January 1981)



The latest generation of Intelsat communication satellites and the International consortium that developed and manufactured them (Photos: Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm)

Siemens helm

Continued from page 7

...don't like the word tough here.' Ne-...sary decisions have to be taken and ...ed through, and in this respect one ... to be tough."

With his sober, pragmatic style, Kaske ... more in common with Plettner than ...ht at first seem. Both grew up in the ... industrial environment. Both ...thed in the same bracing industrial ...

Kaske does not think that Plettner ... try to interfere with his work. After ... Plettner himself was a great delega-... and encourager of others to take re-...nsibility when he was boss.

"And I don't think he is going to ...nge his mind on this as chairman of ... supervisory board."

Kaske knows he will not be able to ...ease the number of Siemens em-...yees as spectacularly as in recent ... (10,000 at home and abroad in ...9/80 alone). Under Plettner, company ...over more than doubled from 1971.

Kaske says he doesn't need a crystal ... to forecast how the company will ...elop under him. The longterm trend ...nlikely to change.

"World electrical markets are growing ... an annual rate of five to six per cent," ... "if we want to maintain our position ... are going to have to grow at the ...e rate."

Hermann Bössenecker

(Die Zeit, 30 January 1981)

■ THE ARTS

Birth bicentenary of Romantic writer Adalbert von Chamisso

Romantic poet Adalbert von Chamisso, 1781-1838, was explaining to friends how he had lost all his personal effects on one of his travels.

"My hat had gone, my gloves had disappeared; I couldn't even find my portmanteau," he complained. It really is the sort of thing that can ruin any holiday.

It was also a ready opportunity for his friend and fellow-poet Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, 1777-1843, to add insult to injury and poke fun at him.

"You didn't happen to lose your shadow as well, did you?" he asked. He hadn't, of course, but the two friends stopped to think what a calamity losing one's shadow could well prove to be.

Some time later, in 1813, Chamisso was bored and at a loose end in Cunersdorf, Saxony. Out there in the country he put pen to paper, visualising what might happen if one were to lose one's shadow.

The result was his lasting claim to fame, The Strange Story of Peter Schlemihl, a tale that novelist Thomas Mann 100 years later still felt rated the epithet immortal.

By then the absent-minded poet could already look back on an unusual personal story, that of a child of the French Revolution.

He was born on 30 January 1781 at his father's chateau, Boncourt, in Champagne, and christened Louis Charles Adelaide de Chamisso de Boncour.

But the family were forced to emigrate in 1790. The French Revolution sent them, father, mother and six children, first to Belgium, then to Germany.

Five years after leaving France they finally settled in Berlin, where Adalbert first served as a page to the Queen of Prussia.

For financial reasons, not for reasons of conviction, he then decided on a military career. He felt ill at ease as a Prussian soldier, especially when he was obliged to fight his fellow-countrymen when Napoleon invaded Prussia.

In 1806 the Prussian forces were crushingly defeated at Jena and Auerstädt. That was the end of military service as far as he was concerned. He rejoined the family, who had long since returned to France.

But he did not stay for long, feeling out of place in Napoleonic France too. He commuted between France and Germany, Paris and Berlin, until finally deciding:

"This is the place for me to live and love, keeping up my quiet German ways. Nowhere was I more overwhelmingly German than in Paris."

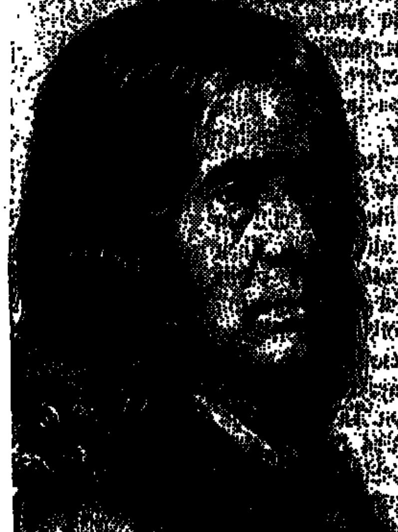
The place was Berlin, where in 1812 he enrolled at university as a student of medicine and botany.

When the wars of liberation, as the 1813 German campaign against Napoleon is known in German, began he ruled himself out for active service on either side.

"The age had no sword for me," he wrote, "but it certainly is exhausting having to remain an inactive onlooker when the call to arms is such a popular one."

So he withdrew to the country, and as the shadowless Peter Schlemihl in his seven-league boots began to take shape





Adalbert von Chamisso (Photo: Historia)

his author was to be seen in a most unusual garb.

A contemporary described the poet-naturalist on his walks through fields and woodland as follows:

He is to be seen wearing the "full regalia of a South Sea chief, a black velvet cap or scarf on his head of curly hair, a large green capsule hanging from a leather strap, a short-stemmed pipe in the corner of his mouth, a plain tobacco pouch hanging somewhere or other and a bite to eat protruding from the side pockets of his jacket."

Chamisso may still have counted in French but he had long taken to writing poetry in German. Back in 1804-6 he had coedited the *Grüner Musenalmanach*.

He knew Ludwig Uhland, Rahel Varnhagen and Fouqué and was very keen on German fairytales, even writing fairytales of his own such as the Tale of the Gigantic Toy.

Peter Schlemihl's adventures he likewise described as an artificial fairytale, and a number of common fairytale motifs recur in the narrative.

They include a lucky bag that is never empty, a cap that makes the wearer invisible and, of course, the seven-league boots.

But fairytale features are accompanied by descriptions of a world realistically outlined, so Chamisso's evaluation of his famous story is not entirely accurate.

He nonetheless has strong leanings towards the fairytale, which would seem to bear out his being rated a Romantic poet, but his hero's quest is not for the elusive *blaue Blume*, or blue flower, that plays such a symbolic role in Romantic writings.

Schlemihl's quest is for a place in bourgeois society. He does not suffer on account of his bourgeois existence but on account of his lack of it. He suffers from rejection because he has no shadow.

Chamisso thus parts company with the Romantic movement, giving expression instead to a new sense of bourgeois awareness. He is in this respect a forerunner of Realism.

His contemporaries esteemed him mainly as a poet. He wrote many ballads and poems. A constant feature is the coexistence in them of the sweet and sentimental on the one hand and the gruesome and scary on the other.

Well-meaning critics attributed his tendency towards criminal gloom to his personal friendship with a criminologist.

His poetic works certainly contain a fair share of blood and thunder, murder, torture and suffering.

In *Don Juanito Marques Verdugo de los Leganes* a Spanish grandee massacres his entire family, while in *Vergeltung* (Retaliation), a "truly painful anecdote," according to Thomas Mann, a hangman literally brands the nobleman who seduces his daughter.

Yet alongside tales of horror reminiscent of Edgar Allan Poe, Chamisso also wrote a great many love p[…] such as:

Ich wollte, wie gerne, dich herzen,
Dich wiegen in meinem Arm,
Dich drücken in meinem Herzen,
Dich hegen so traut und warm.

(How glad I should be to c[…] you, to hold you in my arms, to p[…] you to my heart, and care for you dearly).

Such patent lovesickness in [...] laid him wide open to allegation[s of] banality. His family poems, The G[rand]mother, The Orphan, Mother and [...] are likewise dismissed as an exp[ression] of bourgeois sentimentality.

But Chamisso was not only a po[et...] was also a scientist. From 1815 [...] he travelled on board the *Rurik* [...]ing in the footsteps of Captain Cook.

Schlemihl author turns scientist

The aim of the expedition was t[o ...] through and chart the Bering Strai[t be]tween America and Asia. He publi[shed] his findings in *Reise um die W[elt]* (Journey Round the World) in 1[836], two years before his death.

By this time he had long put be[hind] him the problematic doll status[...] Thomas Mann saw it. He had set[tled] down, become a married man and [fa]ther, an academic, and was revered [...] master.

Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia [...] appointed him to the staff of the B[erlin] Botanical Gardens and in 1835 he [was] made a member of the Academy [of] Sciences.

He was a member of a Ch[...] German dining club and since 18[...] coedited, with Schwab and Gaudy, [the] *Deutscher Musenalmanach*.

When he died on 21 August 183[8 the] restless commuter between Berlin [and] Paris had long become a respected G[er]man poet.

But, again to quote Thomas M[ann,] "only eternal Bohémiens find [...] boring; one either is ruined by be[ing] interesting or goes on to become a [...]ter."

Petra Pluwatsch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 January 1981)

Soviet dissident Lev Kopelev stripped of citizenship

Soviet writer Lev Kopelev, a specialist in Germanic studies who was visiting the Federal Republic of Germany, has been stripped of his citizenship by the Soviet authorities.

The ukase was dated 12 January but has yet to be published in the Supreme Soviet's official gazette. It means exile.

Kopelev and his wife arrived in Germany on 12 November, having been issued with a twelve-month exit permit after several vain attempts.

He was invited by Cologne Nobel laureate Heinrich Böll, the novelist, and had intended to return to his home in Moscow when the year was up.

In 1945, as a Red Army major, he was arrested for alleged bourgeois humanistic propaganda of sympathy with the enemy. He spent 10 years in Soviet prisons and labour camps.

In 1956 he was rehabilitated but before long he was back in trouble with the Soviet regime, being expelled first from the Communist Party, then from the Soviet Writers' Association, as he had been before.

His literary reputation in West Germany is based on his books *Aufbewahren für alle Zeit* (To Be Kept For All Time) and *Und schuf mir einen Götzen* (And Made Myself a Brazen Image).

In the first he describes his life in prison and what happened during the Soviet invasion of East Prussia. In the second he tells the story of his youth.

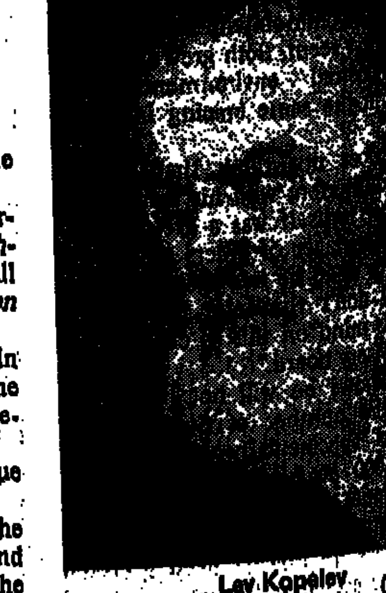
A third volume of his memoirs is due for publication shortly.

As a specialist in Germanic studies he has dealt mainly with Goethe and Brecht. Last year he was awarded the German Academy of Language and Literature's Friedrich Gundolf Prize for Germanic studies abroad.

His wife Raissa Orlova is best known as a translator of American literature. She too was expelled last year from the Communist Party and from the Soviet Writers' Association.

Vassili Aksionov, who also arrived in West Germany on a visit last Novem[ber] has also been stripped of Soviet ci[tizen]ship.

As far as is known the ruling [does] not, in his case, apply to his wi[fe ...] children, who accompanied him.



Lev Kopelev (Photo: [...])

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 January 1981)

■ EDUCATION

Düsseldorf survey takes a closer look at the 'anti-authoritarian' kindergarten

The "Kinderladen" movement which started in the late sixties and early seventies shook up the German nursery school scene and changed previously hallowed values.

It advocates that children should be given more scope to develop without so much adult guidance.

The influence of the movement soon made itself felt even in the more traditional kindergartens.

Professor Horst Nickel of Düsseldorf University has summed up the effects of this trend in his recently published Final Report on Institutional Pre-School Education in West Germany.

The report, the most comprehensive on the subject ever produced in this country, consists of over 1,800 pages in six volumes. The studies for the project started eight years ago.

Nickel said that the kinderladen set up and run by parents had a beneficial effect on the traditional kindergarten system, just as the free schools at the beginning of this century had positively influenced the state educational system of the time.

Nickel refused to take sides for one or the other form, rejecting fanatical advocacy of either system: "Kinderladens are better than their reputation and kindergartens aren't bad either."

The founders of the kinderladens objected to the traditional kindergartens on the ground that they were merely places where children were kept. Also, they attacked the increasing tendency for kindergartens to become more and more like school proper, with all kinds of daunting aptitude tests.

Kinderladen supporters in varying degrees rejected adult guidance of children. They said children ought to be allowed to satisfy their needs without outside interference and should be encouraged to be more independent in overcoming conflicts. The few studies of everyday life in traditional kindergartens up to the beginning of the seventies showed that kindergarten teachers tended to show a strong guiding hand and children were given little encouragement to act independently.

And research on the success of the kinderladens was equally sketchy. All that was available were statements by parents who had founded kinderladens and lists of the goals they had set themselves.

Given this situation, Professor Nickel and his team at the Department of Educational and Developmental Psychology at Düsseldorf University worked on the assumption that the attitude and behaviour of kinderladen parents and children differed considerably from those of kindergarten parents and children.

However, the results of their research have called this initial assumption into question.

A study by the German Peace Research Association in Bonn showed that there was not much to choose between kindergarten and kinderladen teachers in their handling of children. Both tended to adopt policies of guilding and directing and of stimulating and encouraging the children.

Teachers in both school forms did not — on the whole — pay much attention to the children's feelings. Kinderladen teachers showed rather more concern for the children's feelings and encouraged them more.

However, the difference between the two was not so great as to justify the argument that here were two completely different forms of pre-school education.

The tendency to classify kinderladen as anti-authoritarian and kindergartens as authoritarian was simply incorrect, the report says.

The report also stressed that there was no such thing as a typical kinderladen type of teacher as opposed to a typical kindergarten type of teacher. It said that a distinction could be made between three "relatively homogeneous" types:

The encouraging, stimulating type showed feelings herself. When dealing with the children, she frequently addressed them personally and gave them a lot of help.

The second kind of teacher is more emotionally neutral and not so encouraging. He or she makes more use of warnings, orders and prohibitions than the other two types.

The third type of teacher is neither unfriendly nor especially friendly. He does little to encourage the child's initiative, has few ideas and gives few orders. He has little contact with individual children.

Whereas the two last types were almost equally spread over kindergartens and kinderladens, the first type of teacher was found, significantly, frequently in institutions with very favourable conditions such as small groups and more participation by parents.

About 50 per cent of all kinderladen teachers came into this category; for kindergartens, only 10 per cent.

As with the teachers, so with ... pils. There was no one form of ... viour that was exclusively typical ... or the other school form.

Using a special scientific ... the Düsseldorf scientists ... between five different types of ... which were to be found in both ... forms: dependent and insecure ... and depressed; inconspicuous ... ing to conform; active and co... active and aggressive.

There were two exceptions to ... neral finding. There was a sig... larger proportion of passive, ... children in kindergartens and ... and cooperative type of child ... be found almost exclusively in ... dens, especially those in which ... was close contact between the ... and the individual children.

Overall findings on parental ... and attitude show that there is ... clearly a kindergarten and a kinder... type of parent.

Fathers and mothers who ... children to kindergarten, the ... found, tend far more towards ... defensive and authoritarian ... behaviour than kinderladen ... whom the report finds are more ... self-critical and partnerly in their ... viour and more interested in their ... dren's emotions.

This was something which ... come to the fore in conflict situ... an area on which the study ... trated.

Children from kinderladens ... be more tolerant and less aggres... such situations than their peers ... kindergartens.

Renate I. ...

(Nordwest Zeitung, 27 Janu...)

Two-teacher elementary schoo... classes taught bilingually

A school in Hanover runs a two teacher system to help foreign children.

Classes involved have a German-language teacher and another who teaches, for example, in Turkish.

The system, which has been operating in special classes for four years, means that foreign children can be helped over difficult points in their own language.

At the same time, they must face the constant challenge of coping with tuition in German.

Jürgen Woth, headmaster of Egestorff primary school, said that in principle all teaching was in German.

The system was mainly for younger children. Older pupils take an extra five hours a week of tuition in their mother tongue, covering what was taught during the normal day.

Headmaster Woth says that this method is particularly useful for the teaching of subjects such as biology and geography. "After all it doesn't really matter whether pupils learn that a mouse is a mammal in German or in Turkish."

Hanover education officer Heinz Warmbold explained that both these schemes were designed to keep open for foreign pupils the possibility of returning home by giving them a good grounding in their native language but without burdening them too much with extra lessons.

It is clear that even without these extra lessons the foreign pupils have much greater problems than their German counterparts.

Most of them have difficulties at school because of language problems. Many also suffer from their social situation. Furthermore they have to cope with cultural differences.

Egestorff school in Hanover's working class area of Linden has seen a huge rise in the proportion of foreign pupils, from 15 per cent in 1973 to 66 per cent this school year.

"We just had to think of something," said Woth. He says school marks show the experiments to be a success.

In Lower Saxony as a whole, only about one third of foreign children pass their leaving certificate. At Eg... two thirds pass.

Woth says that one of the main ... culties with this new system is ... tion.

Both schemes demand close co... tion between German teachers and ... foreign colleagues, who have to ... to speak German fluently.

At first, the school had diffic... ding suitably qualified teachers.

"After all, it is not everyone ... tea to work closely together wi... league," said Woth.

He tells a revealing tale ... "early days" of the scheme.

"Once we appointed a Turki... only to find out after a few mon... the pupils did not understand ... said — he was a Kurd and did not ... a word of Turkish."

These initial trouble are now ... "Now we have no trouble finding ... qualified foreign teachers or G... teachers to work together with them..."

This confirms what Annelie... who is in charge of this scheme ... Hanover education office, told me.

Interest in further education ... form of teaching is so great that ... cial course for 60 teachers was ... up within a few days of ... nounced.

Jutta Ha...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 Janu...)

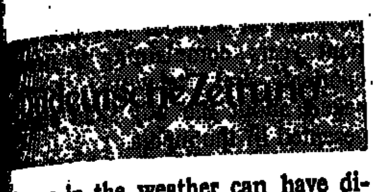




One pupil in four in Class 2C at this primary school in the Ruhr steel city of Solingen is a foreigner — the highest proportion in the country. (Photo: Poly-Press)

HEALTH

Experts differ on 'under the weather' feeling



...hanges in the weather can have di... ...ect physiological effects — hence ... phrase "feeling under the weather." ... people get nervous, suffer from ...aches and their wounds hurt just ... storms break or the spring storms ...hn) start to blow.

The causes of this sensitivity to wea... changes remain obscure — though ... is certainly not for want of inten... scientific research.

One reason for this is of course the ...tiplicity of meteorological parameters ...olved.

Temperature, humidity and cloud ... are familiar factors here, but elec... ...al phenomena also play a part; static ...tric fields, electromagnetic waves ...herics) and air ions (electrically ...ges particles created by radioactivity, ...d, storms and many other atmosphe... processes).

The subject is so complex that an in...disciplinary approach is called for but ...stead specialists still concentrate on ...ir narrow areas: electro-physicists ...dy the influence of magnetic fields, ...tors examine the effects on urine ... *atmospheric* physicists study the effects of changes of air pressure in foehn areas.

So far there has been no broad-based project studying the interaction of all these factors.

Controversy in this area is fierce, as a recent article by Dr F. G. Sulman in the magazine *Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik* underlines.

Sulman, of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, says that sensitivity to weather is physiological, especially in the case of headaches during the foehn. He proposes a new form of preventing and treating foehn sensitivity, ranging from the use of ion generators to the prescription of new kinds of tablets.

Sulman's argument revolves around a biochemical process in which the nerve hormone serotonin plays a key part.

He says that positive air ions, such those in hot, dry desert winds, combine with changes in the static electrical field and with spherics to reduce the activity of an enzyme (monoamin-oxidase) which breaks down serotonin.

Sulman says that this leads to an excess of serotonin in the body; the symptoms of this are insomnia, nervousness, irritability, migraine, pains in scars and wounds, oedema, palpitations of the heart and numerous other symptoms.

It is known that the nerve hormone serotonin plays an important part in the transmission of nerve impulses especially in the mid-brain, where important centres for sleep and mood are.

There is a considerable weight of evidence which supports Sulman's argument. Experiments with rats have shown that negative air ions have the opposite effect, reducing serotonin content.

If one accepts Sulman's thesis, it is quite plausible that by using ion generators to create negative ions or drugs to reduce serotonin levels, foehn sensitivity can be cured.

However, in the correspondence which followed publication of the article, several scientists wrote in strongly rejecting Sulman's views.

H. Dolezalek, director of a commission studying atmospheric electricity in the US state of Virginia, showed that Sulman had made serious errors in his analysis of air ions and spherics.

P. Krönling of the Medical Balneology and Climatology Department of Munich University, and R. Reiter of the Fraunhofer Institute of Atmospheric Research in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, said that it was wrong to apply Sulman's findings about hot desert winds to the foehn. They said that there was no appreciable change in the ion concentration in the case of the foehn.

Physicist K. Dirnagl of the Department of Balneology and Climatology referred to studies which showed that the frequency of weather-sensitivity was closely related to "differences between the morning air temperature and the average air temperature of the preceding days." Another important factor, he wrote, was air humidity.

He added that these studies had established no connection whatever between the concentration of negative or positive air ions or vacillations of electric field and weather sensitivity.

Atmospheric physicist R. Mühleisen of Trier University wrote that electrical phenomena in the air could not be the cause of complaints, as the high degree of dilution of the air ions (the relation of air ions to the uncharged atoms and molecules in the air is less than one to a million billion) and hence the weakness of the electric field meant that biological effects could be ruled out.

Mühleisen did say that variations in atmospheric pressure in the infrasound area such as were found in the foehn could affect our wellbeing.

Mühleisen's dismissal of air electrical factors clashes with a number of findings. H. König of Munich Technical University discusses occurrences in a Munich print works which were analysed by scientists from Munich Technical University: unknown meteorological factors in a fully air-conditioned room kept on causing gelatine film — needed for the preparation of printing cylinders — to coagulate.

This phenomenon was observed to occur over irregular intervals for several years.

Suspecting the influence of electrical phenomena, the scientists built a Faraday box around the machine to keep off the electrical fields.

And since then the phenomenon has not recurred.

'Miracle cure' ion generator makes a comeback

König says it has been proved that electrical phenomena in the air can have biological effects.

However, he is more sceptical about the probable effectiveness of the ion generator as a means of prevention of weather sensitivity. Admittedly, he says, it can sometimes be advisable to reproduce the outdoor climate indoors.

To do this, König argues, more than air ions is needed. Static and dynamic fields are also important factors. The complicated electrical phenomena in the air made it essential to consult experts — especially in the case of ion generators, where generator faults could cause serious side effects.

In the 1930s ion generators were praised as a miracle cure for all kinds of illnesses but the American Food and Drug Administration has classified their use as verging on charlatanism.

To prevent dishonest advertising methods, the authority has banned the sale of ion generators as medical cures.

Generator producers have switched to praising the undoubted air-purifying qualities of the generators.

The American magazine *Science* reports that despite all official scepticism the ion generator is making a comeback.

In 1980 alone the industry sold 10 million dollars' worth of generators — an impressive total considering that they cost between $80 and $160 each.

Michael Eckert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 January 1981)

Spring clean your first-aid box

Sooner or later old medicine is junked, but dustbin and drain are not the right places for pills so old you can't remember what they were for. Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum has welcomed a scheme launched by Cologne refuse disposal department and the cathedral city's pharmacists to persuade people to turn in old medicine at the chemist's, where it is collected and destroyed safely in a way that is sure not to endanger the environment. (Photo: Globus-Press)

■ DISABLED

Psychologist, height 3ft 9¼in, explains what life is like when you're so short

Ernst Klee, who wrote this article, directed a Sender Freies Berlin TV documentary about Ortrun Schott and her late brother Erhard. It was screened nationwide on 4 February to mark the International Year of the Disabled.

Psychologist Ortrun Schott wrote to me some years ago: "I am 1 metre 15 cms (3ft 9¼ in) tall. When I stretch. I can reach 1 m 35 cms with my fingertips."

Up to this time, I had thought of small people as circus dwarves and clowns. I knew that in the past they often became court jesters, clowns, jokers.

"Pschyrembel," the standard medical work, distinguishes between "short people" and dwarves.

In popular parlance, short people are referred to as Lilliputians, though many do not realise that Lilliputians is the name of the thumb-sized people in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels.*

The Holiday Park in the Rhineland Palatinate, near Hassloch, suggests that short people are a special category of human being altogether. Tens of thousands of normal people visit this park every year and walk through the dwarf town, buy souvenirs in the dwarf shop, take their children on rides on the Lilliput Express and visit a museum telling about the history of the Lilliputians.

In the Park little people are exhibited in small cosy houses with doll's house style furniture. The town even has its own mayoress. A small brochure "enlightens" visitors: "What is life like in Lilliput? How does this intelligent, cheerful little race live and love? What are Lilliputians?"

The answer underlines the difference between Lilliputians and dwarves: "Lilliputians are not pitiable people, or little monsters. Our Lilliputians do not come into this category. Their shortness is caused by a glandular disorder, not a disease."

I can still remember my first meeting with Ortrun Schott. I was standing at the top of the steps. She more or less had to climb up the steps as if they were real obstacles.

In her arm she had a shopping bag for normal-sized people. The bag dragged along the ground and half covered her. As I am 1.88 metres (well over 6ft), I towered over her like a giant. I felt ill at ease and embarrassed.

Ortrun Schott was born in 1929. Her father, who was a Professor of Oriental Studies, had children of normal height. Three others were short.

Today, Ortrun Schott works as a psychologist in Düsseldorf.

But these are just superficial data. Her real biography is typical of the many short people who object to being compared with the dwarves and Lilliputians of fairy tales.

When she was at kindergarten, she was put with younger children. And when she went to primary school, she was continually taunted. Stones were thrown at her.

Even today, some adults laugh out loud when they see her, as if a real live garden gnome had crossed their path.

She recalls the embarrassed silence in her family home when she asked at the dinner table one day: "Why am I so small?"

Every evening she used to play a game with her sister in which they dreamt of the future, of marrying and having five children. The imaginary children were given names and characters. One evening Ortrun realised that she would never marry, but she went on playing because she did not want to spoil her sister's fun.

She soon realised that no man is wants to love a woman 1.15 metres tall. She studied her "role." She read *Grimm's Fairy Tales* to find out if all "dwarves" were really wicked.

She read books, such as those of Bernanos and Le Fort, in which suffering is explained in Christian terms. From then onward she believed that suffering was the purpose of her life.

Ortrun Schott and other short people have formed The Association of Short People. I went with her to the association's annual meeting. Yet though there are 20,000 to 50,000 short people in this country — no one knows the exact figures — only 200 are members of the association.

They cannot complain about lack of press interest in the organisation. Getting the short people to pose with the tallest waiter makes a good photo, but what else does it achieve?

The association's spokesman said there were no clowns among them. Their members included administrators, clerks, salesmen, physicists, even a doctor from the Max Planck Institute.

The aim here is clear. They want to get away from the image of the clown, away from the Lilliputian circus.

Thanks to their lobbying, the Bonn government has deleted all references to dwarves from its legislation and recognised people shorter than 1 m 40 cms as severely handicapped (shortness is a growth disorder).

But people on the street still crack jokes about them and find them, at best, "cute."

The annual meetings are mainly to get together seek partners. The press spokesman explained that the meetings ended with a farewell ball.

"This is the most important event of the year for the small people, especially short women, who can wear their evening dress for once.

Once a year they want to be among themselves, without having to endure mocking looks and remarks ("Do they eat small portions, too?").

When I first went to the annual meeting, a short woman asked me to dance. Embarrassed, I refused. At which a short man said: "Now you know what we always feel like."

Ortrun Schott makes doors look enormous and stairs look like giant's causeways

Next time, I was asked to [illegible] again. The woman said: "If you [illegible] barrassed, we can dance at the [illegible] When they are celebrating among [illegible] selves, every tall adult is bound [illegible] like an intruder.

Ortrun Schott is an outsider in [illegible] group. She has made it her task [illegible] plain what people who are [illegible] the butts of humour feel like. She [illegible] spent years complaining to news[illegible] reporters and television program[illegible] makers about the way short peop[illegible] presented in the media.

"We are only shown for a ga[illegible] humorous number."

This had led many members [illegible] association to criticise her for [illegible] ing the problem. And now that she [illegible] taken part in a television program[illegible] envy creeps into the criticism.

The short do not get much social [illegible] ognition and so it is that they [illegible] askance at one of their number who [illegible] some kind of prominence on TV.

Ortrun Schott, seeking her own i[illegible] tity, is no longer prepared to repress [illegible] feelings. She wants to tell people [illegible] many short people only go out at [illegible] Her brother, Erhard, who was also [illegible] committed suicide because of the [illegible] tempt to which he was exposed — [illegible] he was working on a PhD in phi[illegible] phy.

He recorded his humiliations i[illegible] diary: "The Diary of an Ugly [illegible] When he was a child, a local girl [illegible] him: "You're afraid you'll never [illegible] wife." Elsewhere he wrote: "I am a [illegible] understood, sad clown, Toulouse La[illegible] the Second."

His diaries are full of resentment [illegible] being judged by his size only and [illegible] on his human qualities.

There are places where he deem[illegible] God as pitiful, only to ask him for[illegible] giveness later.

Hopes of student movem[illegible]

justice, humanity, love

Then there are his hopes, especi[illegible] the student movement, in which [illegible] took part. He hoped it would [illegible] more justice — and this means [illegible] humanity, more love.

The dream of the short person i[illegible] have a partner of normal height.

Even Erhard Schott wrote in his [illegible] that if he could not have a normal[illegible] partner he would take a handicap[illegible] girl — as a second choice. And when [illegible] short person marries another short [illegible] son, great importance is attached to [illegible] man being at least two centimetres [illegible] than the woman.

Shortness and inferiority comp[illegible] are closely related. It is difficult to [illegible] oneself seriously if others do not [illegible] one seriously.

Short people find it difficult to [illegible] cepted. Many members of the ass[illegible] tion feel excluded and try to compe[illegible] for this by coming over as a happy [illegible] bunch of people who meet every [illegible] for a moonlight trip over the Wa[illegible] in Berlin.

But this annual gathering, this [illegible] bility, is hardly going to make the [illegible] of society change its attitudes tow[illegible] them.

In this annual game of repress[illegible] they regard it as treachery when o[illegible] them dares to talk frankly about [illegible] despair, their feeling that no one [illegible] them, that they are constantly m[illegible] and pitied rather than respected.

Ernst Kl[illegible]

(Die Zeit, 30 January [illegible])

■ SPORT

Unassuming Bavarian wins biathlon crown

Peter Angerer

(Photo: Sven Simon)

[W]est German Peter Angerer was runner-up to East Germany's [illegible] Ullrich in the 10,000 metres at [illegible] Nordic skiing biathlon World Cup [illegible] Ruhpolding, Bavaria, on 1 February.

[An]gerer, 21, was very much the local [illegible] His father is a prison warder in [illegible]mer, a small town in the Chiemgau [illegible]ict of Bavaria.

[illegible] was not his first international hon[illegible] He is the reigning world champion [illegible] in the biathlon and was voted [illegible] Sportsman of the Year last year.

[B]ut that did not make him an old [illegible] at victory poses. A winsome smile [illegible]ed no problem, but press photographers expect a little more nowadays — a [clen]ched-fist salute at least.

[A] Bundeswehr non-commissioned of[ficer], Angerer stood his ground and was happy to oblige, not forgetting to present his skis, the brand that won him silver.

Was it absolutely necessary to get his skis into the picture? "It seemed no more than their due in the circumstances," he calmly commented, which was doubtless true.

Peter Angerer is that increasingly rare bird among top-flight West German athletes, a man whose claim to fame and the performance on which the claim is based are not out of proportion.

Maybe Nordic skiing in general and the biathlon in particular (his speciality since age 13) explain this gratifying sense of proportion.

For the biathlon you have to be on your toes virtually all the year round, yet on the day a single shot misfired only marginally can put paid to championship hopes.

Angerer may have won his first event of the season at Pontresina in December, but so far he has always felt, by virtue of bitter experience, that you can learn most from failure.

His winning smile and shook of blond hair are enough to set hearts fluttering regardless of his sporting honours, yet only two days before his silver medal at Ruhpolding he tasted bitter defeat.

He had risked too much and forfeited all. This time, he promised himself, he was going to do better: "I must get my rhythm right today."

This was a reference to the shooting: five shots lying down in between 45 and 50 seconds and five shots taken from a standing position in between 40 and 45 seconds.

He took his time and made sure of his mark, just as he kept to his own pace over the distance. "For the first time in ages it all went just right again," he said.

With 10 days to go the world championships in Lahti, Finland, he came to a further personal conclusion: "Nothing works out unless I am all excited."

He had certainly been looking forward to Ruhpolding and the appreciative Bavarian crowd. It was not just a matter of his own reputation either.

"It did us all a power of good," he explained, generously including his team-mates. Suddenly an established star and no longer a promising youngster, he had no no hesitation in sharing his triumph with the others.

Only once the hullaballoo was over did he find the time to think of himself. "I reckon I've earned a week's holiday this spring," he decided.

"One week only?" he was asked. "Oh yes," he unassumingly replied in unselfconscious Bavarian dialect, "that'll be enough."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 February 1981)

Clean sweep wins hockey title

West Germany's women's hockey squad won the third European indoor championship title, their third in succession too, with a display of unnerving, overwhelming superiority.

In the final, seen by 2,000 fans in West Berlin, the West German women, coached by team manager Wolfgang Strödter, beat European championship newcomers Scotland 10-1 (5-1).

In their group the German girls had convincingly beaten France 14-1, Scotland 13-3 and Spain 13-0 to reach the semi-finals, in which they eliminated England 10-1.

It was double figures in all five games, taking them up to 24 international wins on the run. Canada, incidentally, came third by beating England 9-5 in a play-off.

Captain Birgit Hagen from Cologne, the only team member to have taken part in the previous two European championship wins, was presented with the trophy by Anke Brunn, Berlin's new woman Senator of Family and Youth Affairs and Sport.

"We all came to Berlin feeling sure we were going to clinch the title," Frau Hagen said, "but it is a great feeling nonetheless to have done so."

Birgit Hagen was a member of the 1976 women's field hockey team that won world championship honours for West Germany, the home team, also in West Berlin.

She was outstanding in the final, netting six goals, followed by Gaby Appel from Hamburg, two, and Christina Moser and Corinna Lingnau, one each. Ulla Thielemann, Martina Koch and Sigrid Landgraf make up a trio of girls from Hanau, near Frankfurt, who were members of the winning team.

Holland, the reigning outdoor world champions, were beaten 4-2 into sixth place by Austria (and that after winning silver at Arras, France, in 1975 and Brussels, Belgium, in 1977).

Spain and France came seventh and eighth respectively.

"Without wanting to be supercilious, we were a foregone conclusion for successfully defending our European championship title," says manager Strödter.

"It will no doubt be a while before we have to concede our next defeat. The performance gap is simply too wide."

This was partly why the home team were partly playing with one eye on the outdoor world chempionships, to be held in Buenos Aires at the end of March.

"The five days here in Berlin have certainly done us a power of good as a team."

Birgit Hagen came first in the goal-scoring league, netting a total of 16. Christina Moser, 14, was runner-up, while Gaby Appel with 11 came fourth.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 2 February 1981)

Beckenbauer's 100 days

In Duisburg Franz Beckenbauer, soccer's Kaiser Franz, made short shrift of the home team.

Hamburg, his new club, cannot have been happy. Duisburg, anything but a star team, will have been over the moon at such an unexpected home win.

Clumsy Kaiser! It certainly was not his lucky day, especially as stylish play has always been Beckenbauer's hallmark.

He has stood straight as a die and shown both ease and grace in his dealings with both the ball and opposing players. Or at least, that is how the fans remember him and that is what earned him the nickname Kaiser.

Yet Kaiser Franz cannot be said to have done much to burnish his image since returning from New York to Germany. His ball play is by no means as consummate as it was before he quit Bayern Munich for Cosmos.

Have three years of dolce vita in the US operetta league been to blame? Or is Beckenbauer, as sceptics forecast from the start, too old at 35 for the blood and guts of Saturday soccer on Bundesliga pitches?

It would be wrong to write him off at this stage, to splash doubts as banner headlines, just as it would be premature to call for his return as sweeper to the national team.

National team manager Jupp Derwall is being careful. He wants to see how Beckenbauer gets on before making up his mind. Franz readily accepts this outlook, saying:

"My comeback as a member of the national team, possibly this spring, will depend on my form."

Administrations, Presidents, even emperors, have been known to claim 100 days' grace. It would be churlish not to grant Franz Beckenbauer the same privilege.

Stephan Balz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 January 1981)

